1:Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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common way leading to the village, go together into their dwelling enclosures, where the women set about cooking, while the men glance around their property to see that everything is in order and no untoward circumstance has occurred during the day. If we now accompany a man into his house we shall see, firstly, at the far end and somewhat to one side, the pit for his earth-oven, and, on the other side, a small bamboo frame, furnished with wooden pillow, and covered with a mat roughly plaited from the fronds of coconut leaves, which is his bed. If a young son is living with him, there will be two. Both beds are on what is called the "Upper" side of the house. This may be either side, but once chosen cannot be altered. Stuck into the thatch, or hooked on to the rafters which support it, grimed and preserved with the smoke of innumerable fires, are the objects he treasures. Polished stone blades hafted to adze-shaped handles for heavy garden work, felling of trees, cutting of roots. Shell adze blades, similarly hafted, for carving and for hollowing out canoes and gongs. Both these in many different sizes, and the latter of different shells, the larger ground down from giant clams and the smaller from small spiral shells. The delicate jaws of flying foxes, bracelets of pigs' tusks or turbo shell, arm-badges such as have been already mentioned. Feathered head-dresses for various occasions, badges of office or of Maki degree. Bunches of leaves for magic. If he is a sorcerer or rain-maker he will have, hidden away, the carved rain-stones and much other paraphernalia essential to his trade.

Cooking the evening meal.

Having surveyed these, the native home from his garden will decide whether to eat in his own dwelling-house or with his fellows in the precincts of the Lodge. If at home, his wife cooks for him, though not on her fire but on his. More usually, however, he will go to the Lodge. Here other men of his joint-family are gathered. Inside the Lodge the large earth-oven, a hole dug in the ground, sometimes surrounded by a lining of stones, is emptied. Fresh firewood is brought and kindled, or the old fire made up. On this round pebbles are laid to heat. Meanwhile the evening meal is being prepared. Yams, the staple diet, are scraped on to a leaf. If the day is an ordinary one, and no sacrifice has been recently performed, the only adjuncts are such small titbits as have been gathered during the day—an odd breadfruit or two, leaves of the native "cabbage," a flying fox, fish, shell-fish, turtles' eggs, prawns, eels, but if there has been a sacrifice, parts of a pig, or fowl. These are all placed on the yam-scrapings, and a fresh layer of these placed on top. Then the whole pudding is wrapped in layer upon layer of leaves so as to preserve it from direct contact with the fire or earth, and to keep in the juices. Meanwhile the pebbles placed on the fire have become red-hot. Half these are now removed by means of wooden tongs, and the wrapped

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pudding placed on those that remain. On this are then replaced the stones that have been removed, and the whole covered in with earth. Here the pudding remains till it is judged to have been cooked. For a large ceremonial pudding on a ritual occasion it may be left in all night or even, for the very largest, as long as twenty-four hours. Whatever time the cooking takes, it is judged always to a nicety, and the resulting food is tender and succulent. We are here concerned, however, only with ordinary occasions, when the pudding is taken out soon after it is put in. Fresh leaves are brought on which to lay it, and the meal is ready. On rainy days it is consumed inside the Lodge. But on fine days—and most days are fine—it is eaten outside, the men squatting on their haunches in usual Small Island style, or perhaps sitting on a handy log. The pudding is sliced with wooden knives and eaten either with the bare hand or taken up with a leaf. When finished, what is left over is kept to be eaten cold next morning, and the cooking-leaves fed to the pigs.

Fellowship with the dead.

All this takes place either within or immediately outside the Lodge, within the Lodge enclosure a few feet from where, lined with stones, lie the graves of the ancestral dead. Much has been written of the fear of the dead in primitive religion, and it is curious that it is this aspect of ancestor cult that has been most emphasised by European writers. As Rivers points out, there appear to exist in Melanesia two diametrically opposed attitudes towards the dead, that of the early inhabitants, which was one of great fear, and that of later immigrants, who believed in their ever-present beneficent influence and so tried in all manner of ways to preserve contact with them.[1] In the Small Islands it is true that in some respects the ancestors are very much to be feared, and that their anger is held to be one of the main causes of disease or even death. But this is only when they have been offended by the neglect of ancestral respect, either on the part of the whole community as a result of the change in kinship regulations whereby the introduction of overt patrilineal descent has deprived the matrilineal ancestors of much of their former prestige, or on the part of individuals who have neglected their private offerings at the ancestral grave, or by the too bold introduction of innovations in mortuary ritual, or in other way have offended particular ghosts. It has already been shown how expiation of the communal sin brought about by the change in kinship regulations is one of the most important factors in the huge sacrifices performed during the ritual of the Maki, but we shall see later that it is through these very sacrifices that the living gain fellowship with the dead by ensuring their own future existence in the land where the dead continue to live. Private offences are similarly expiated by sacrifice or the discontinuance of the practices to

[1] Rivers, 1, vol. II, p. 279.